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AUTHOR Gordon, Ruby D.
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ABSTRACT

Presenting an historical review of American Indian education, this document includes the following: (1) Introduction (identifies the educational anthropologist as one who investigates the learner's and the educator's cultural orientation to better facilitate the continuity of educational content and method); (2) Definition of Terms (culture, anthropology, and education); (3) Historical Background to Indian Education (the initial philosophy of assimilation and the General Allotment Act; the turning point in Indian education via the Meriam Report of 1928 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934; the reactionary movement of the 1950's and the Federal Termination Act; and the activities stimulated by the "War on Poverty" in the 1960's); (4) Indian Education: 1965 to the Present (the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964; the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; the Indian Education Act of 1972; the Coleman Report of 1965 and the concepts of cultural alienation and middle class values; the MacLean Review of 1972 and the statistics of deprivation; the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs); (5) Cultural Identity in Representative Indian Groups (Hopi and Papago); (6) Anthropology and Indian Education; (7) Conclusion (anthropological concepts should be included in all curricula to a far greater degree). (JC)

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AN OBSERVATION: HISTORICAL REVIEW OF INDIAN EDUCATION

by

Ruby D. Gordon
Glendale Community College
Glendale, Arizona

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN TRANSITION

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INTRODUCTION

The most recent of the social sciences to concern itself with the field of education is anthropology. In 1968 members of the American Anthropology Association formed the Council on Anthropology and Education. This group was concerned with the application of anthropological concepts and methods to the study of the educational process. Concurrently, departments of education and anthropology respectively began to offer courses for the training of educational anthropologists. The role of the educational anthropologist is to investigate the orientation of transmitter and learner (35:519). In addition to this he reviews the content and method of the transmission to test for continuity and discontinuity within and between cultural groups.

Educators as well as many others have tended to view education narrowly. This is, they are accustomed to viewing education as an institutional outcome such as the results from attending a school. Anthropologists, on the other hand, have viewed education as being synonymous with enculturation or the process by which an individual learns his own culture (35:520). The later view, of course, being more appropriate to simple societies rather than complex ones. The concern of educational anthropologists is the process by which children become adults and the cultural definition of adulthood. The basis for the field of anthropology derives from the culture concept and inevitably permeates the field of educational anthropology.

CULTURE

Culture was first defined in 1871 by Edward B. Tylor, the father of modern anthropology (1:113)(15:13). His definition of culture has been generally accepted for over half a century as that "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." The transmission of culture is dependent upon an understanding of it which the modern educator cannot afford to neglect. Educational institutions of the twentieth century are the products of several centuries of cultural growth. There is also evidence that culture has controlled to a considerable degree the development of educational patterns.

Kneller (10:4) simplifies his definition of culture by saying that it is "all the ways of life that have been evolved by men in society." In any particular culture this includes the total shared way of life of a given people. This encompasses their modes of thinking as well as acting and feeling which are expressed in religion, law, language, art, and custom. The material products are such things as houses, clothes, and tools. Another dimension to culture is that it can be regarded as the learned and shared behavior (thoughts, acts, feelings) of a certain people together with their artifacts. Behavior is learned in the sense that it is transmitted socially rather than genetically. The behaviors are shared in that they are practiced by part or all of the population. An individual is born into an existing culture and therefore is indoctrinated to accept the moral values of that culture (36:4).

ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is the study of man and his ways of living. The subdivisions of anthropology are physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, archaeology, and anthropological linguistics. These are all interconnected aspects of man. The physical anthropologist is concerned with man as a biological phenomena in relation to his present biological characteristics and the way he is divided into populations and races. The cultural anthropologist deals with the developing of human behavioral patterns into a distinctive way of life. The study of ancient cultures is the concern of the archaeologist. The scientific study and analysis of languages in relation to man's behavior is within the province of the anthropological linguist.

Three hallmarks of good anthropology are suggested by Macfarlane (38:15). First, anthropology denies that the physical background, economic situation or structure of the brain is a determining variable for thoughts and behavior. It recognized that these things are mutually influential rather than deterministic. Second, both actions and ideas can be explained by their present functions rather than seeing the roots of actions and thoughts in random past events. Third, anthropology recognizes the need for an "imaginative leap" that will allow an inside view of the ways of life and thought of another people through examination of fundamental matters.

"Culture," to the anthropologist, means a complete way of life including all patterns of behavior necessary to maintaining the existence

of a community. The basic types of patterns are a language, an economic system, a family system, an education system, as well as a set of values and beliefs. In each individual community the various patterns all fit together into an integrated whole called a "culture." Each part of the total pattern contributes to community maintenance and no individual part can be changed without changing the whole (32:43).

Anthropology is responsible for contributing the concept of "culture" which views man as being shaped by his institutions and his groups through values and ideals (4:512). Values are the principles of a culture and may be considered permanent and relative. Through education, values may be recognized for what they are. Educators become the agents of interaction in promoting the acceptance of values which may lead to establishment of a better society in which to live. A cultureless individual with satisfied biological, emotionless, and social needs cannot be produced. However, as an individual grows he can make choices to continue to accept the system or become an active agent seeking modification. Thus, the real value of anthropology is that it demonstrates possible alternative solutions to social problems.

All civilized and primitive cultures in existance practice education (1:99). It is a way of perpetuating and improving the self. Common denominators in all cultures are teaching and learning with an emphasis upon subject matter. This is a way of providing training necessary to survival and welfare. Rules and regulations by which a culture carries on life activities must be learned.

EDUCATION

The relationship between education and the study of human behavior began in classical Greece. Education was considered to be the primary human activity which was believed to be the source of all rational behavior. Through time, social change and technological development have altered man's view of human nature and his reliance on education. There are present proposals to strive toward perfection in all men everywhere (9:16). However, it might be well to note that in earlier times, the Greek and Roman aims of education included an emphasis upon education for Christian salvation (2:5)(3:107). This later idea can be taken as a striving for perfection since this was one goal of the Christian ethic.

A new conceptual model for studying education as a system rather than as a field has developed in each of the behavioral sciences. In psychology it has been the study of the mind. In sociology it has been the study of social behavior. In anthropology it has been the study of man. This later has been primarily since World War II. Education as behavior should be viewed as a product of the social order and a part of institutional structure. Education should be further seen as a meaningful whole with interdependent parts. A school system should be considered as a totality in beliefs and practices to understand its functions and assess the values (9:23).

Education is a continuous process by which societies perpetuate their culture (1:46). This is a lifelong process and therefore not limited to any particular age group as once thought. There are growing

contributions that anthropology makes to education. These include informal as well as formal aspects of the transmission of knowledge, attitudes, and values inherent in any system structure of peoples. Anthropology has become a part of professional teacher training, cross-cultural comparisons of educational systems, comparative or international education, educational administrative training as well as a focus on the methods and concepts in educational research.

Landes (11:299) supports a broad view similar to Ianni, in that, she considers education as the indispensable means of continuing an ordered social existence. Quillen (16:50) states that education is a cultural process and instrument through which cultures perpetuate themselves, however, he further comments that some confusion exists as to the meaning of and the proper role of the school in a culture. In American culture, the school is only one educative agency. The family, church, organizations, and mass media play important roles in the educaton of individuals. An over-all objective of the school is defined by a description of the behavior of the ideal citizen.

The social anthropologist studies the total behavior of men and thereby sees education as a group's formal guidance of its people into its ancestral traditions. Again, it is well to note that there is a growing awareness among educators that certain aspects of anthropology hold important implications for education. Aspects connected with cultural transmission and personality formation have a direct, meaningful, and practical value to the educator. He must reckon with the fact that one culture's communication does not reach another culture without special tools.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO INDIAN EDUCATION

During the years from 1870 to 1920 some of the worst abuses were evident in regard to the administration of Indian affairs. The Indian

- - - - was denied the vote,
- - - - was prohibited from practicing his own religion,
- - - - was discouraged in management of community affairs,
- - - - needed a pass to leave the reservation,
- - - - children were removed to boarding schools,
- - - - bureau personnel turnover was rapid.

As Witt (22:57) points out, "the United States Government is obligated to provide education for its Indian citizens by virtue of almost every treaty which it consummated with the Indian tribes since colonial times." The real fact is that the educational provisions in treaties were almost totally ignored by the government. This responsibility was handed over in earlier times to missionaries and anyone who was inspired.

The philanthropic idea in the 19th century was that the only hope for the Indian was social and cultural assimilation into white society (12:38). The "Indian problem" played a prominent role in governmental activities. The major purposes at that time were to "destroy Indian culture" and "civilize the Indian." Early methods in dealing with the Indian were cruel and tyrannical. The Indian was regimented and forbidden to speak his native tongue while teachers tended to be harsh, unsympathetic, and punitive (27:1).

In Arizona, Federal schools for the Indian on reservations were first developed between 1969 and 1875 (27:2). The first boarding school was built in 1879 in the Territory of the Colorado River Indian Reservation. In 1888, the first off-reservation school was built in Tucson with Federal funds. This was operated by the Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church. During the late 1800's many religious denominations contributed to Indian education, especially that of the Apache, Navajo, Pima, and the Papago. These religious groups included the Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Mennonites, Catholics, and the Seventh Day Adventists (27:3).

The General Allotment Act of 1887 was designed to alleviate the Indian problem but in actuality it failed to do so (12:39). Each family was to receive their own parcel of land consisting of 180 acres under this act. In this way it was expected that within one generation the Indians could be assimilated into the white rural population as private land owners. As it turned out, the Indians were not adequately informed nor technically prepared for managing farms. In addition to this, subsistence farming was being replaced by large scale single crop enterprises at that time.

In 1889, the General Allotment Act was amended thus and resulting in the alienation of Indian lands at a rapid pace. Further, the symbolic end of Indian freedom came with the now historic massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890. This, among other things, produced internal tribal schisms with detribalization, demoralization, and

disintegration. Political development among tribes for the most part was inhibited due to the priority of continued existence. One exception, however, to this was the confederacy established by the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma (Cherokee, Seminole, Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw). The aim of this consolidation was to create a separate Indian state at the time Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907, however, this failed.

The Burke Act of 1907 amended the General Allotment Act to protect the Indians from further land losses. This has been referred to by Witt (22:57) as the first federal step toward improving the lot of the Indians. In 1910, a medical division was established as a part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thousands of Indians enlisted during World War I although they were not subject to the draft. In 1923, a non-professional Committee of One Hundred were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to investigate Indian problems. The American Indian Defense Association (John Collier's) was established in 1924 to protest the taking of Pueblo lands through passage of the Bursum Bill. Publicity from this brought about rising public sentiment which culminated in the Curtis Act of 1924 which allowed citizenship to all American Indians not yet enfranchised. With this act came the federal priviledge to vote and hold public office.

THE TURNING POINT IN INDIAN EDUCATION

The Meriam Report of 1928 grew out of a study commissioned by the Department of the Interior in 1926 to survey Indian schools and communities throughout the United States. The BIA boarding schools at

this time were being highly critized as having inadequately qualified personnel, low pay, poor working conditions, overcrowded facilities, and poor health conditions such as malnutrition and communicable diseases. The major recommendation of the report was an educational philosophy which would prepare the Indian "to control and direct his own life" whether he preferred to remain on the reservation or enter the "prevailing civilization" (13:17).

In 1928 also, President Hoover appointed Charles J. Rhodes as Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the designated task of accelerating the assimilation of Indians into the general society (22:59). The Merian Report recommendations were not implemented at this time as official policy due to the new task which involved expansion of governmental services in the areas of health, education, and welfare. However, the Allotment Act was officially abandoned, the BIA personnel improved, and advances were made in school construction. It was not until post World War II that the major change in educational philosophy for the Indian was brought about by an enlightened BIA administration under the Rhoads-Scattergood administration (13:17).

"COLLIER EDUCATIONAL POLICY"

John Collier served as Indian Commissioner of the United States from 1933 to 1945. He stood for implementing the recommendations of the Meriam Report. The Indian Reorganization Act (Howard-Wheeler) of 1934 brought about loosening of rigid control in education policies and procedures. This act became known as the "Collier Educational Policy," the

aims of which were:

1) to give the Indian increased participation in school programs,

2) to modify the curriculum toward suiting the needs of the Indian,

3) to encourage pride in racial accomplishment and culture among the Indians themselves, and

4) to provide teachers in the Indian service with special training to enable them to better understand the Indians they were teaching.

The off-reservation school was to be abolished in favor of day schools nearer the Indian homes. There were many provisions of the act but the most lasting one was the establishment of tribal governments and corporations by charter. A total of 189 tribes (129,750 Indians) voted to accept this provision of the act and 77 tribes (86,365 Indians) rejected it (22:59). Thus, another step was taken in improving Indian affairs.

During the post World War II era, there was a partial return of the evils from the Pre-Collier days under the Federal Termination Act, however, this was temporary. Since 1945, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has encouraged Indian attendance in public schools. Therefore, this is seen as a shift of responsibility for Indian education, on the part of the BIA, from Federal to state authority. This is an additional step in the process of freeing the Indian from government control toward making him self-supporting.

During the first session of the 83rd Congress of 1953, the controversial termination policy came about. In part, it read "- - - It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians

within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship - - - ." According to Witt (22:64) the real purpose Congress intended by this policy was to cut down government spending. It soon became evident that passing bills did not necessarily make for independent, acculturated, assimilated Indians. Vast numbers created a sudden burden upon State and local governments as well as the public. This caused immediate immobilization of Indian leadership to cope with the situation which culminated in compromise.

"THE WAR ON POVERTY"

On February 13, 1964, in response to the "War on Poverty," Philleo Nash, BIA Commissioner, issued the following statement:

"1. Unemployment on the reservations runs between 40 and 50 per cent - - - seven or eight times the national average.

2. Family income on the reservations averages between one-fourth and one-third the national average.

3. Nine out of ten Indian families live in housing that is far below minimum standards of comfort, safety, and decency.

4. Average schooling of young adults on the reservations is only eight years - - - two thirds of the national average.

5. The average age at death on the reservation is 42 years, two-thirds the figure for the national population."

Indians found that they were sixth on a list of six areas requiring

immediate attention when the "War on Poverty" began to mobilize (22:68).

There is now collective interest and activity which encourages communication between tribes, groups, and individuals. This intertribal unity has met with successes in coping with problems. Through tribal enterprises growth and evolution of a socio-political consciousness is developing. Off-reservation employment brings knowledge of the non-Indian world and recognition of the need for more formal education. Increasing family financial stability and participation in tribal affairs brings more knowledge about the benefits from economic practices in American society.

Successes in recent years have encouraged nationalistic activities among the Indian tribes. The general goals of this trend in Indian nationalistic activities are: (1) increased education of all kinds on all age levels, (2) improved health and general welfare, (3) retention of land base and accumulation of more land, (4) economic development on the reservations, (5) true rather than nominal tribal sovereignty, (6) assumption of BIA functions as the individual tribes reach the necessary level of development required to do so, (7) greater political solidarity and strength in order to exert significant control over their affairs and (8) maintenance and development of Indian culture.

The anthropological term for the degree of unity achieved by a culture is integration. A culture is integrated to the extent that its patterns of behavior are interrelated (10:7). One question that arises is whether or not the Indian nationalistic trend will result in integration or a continued sub-cultural status. The American society is multicultural.

INDIAN EDUCATION: 1965 TO THE PRESENT

The plight of the Indian is a societal problem rather than a problem of the Indian alone. Kaltsonnis (34:291) has pointed out that the melting pot idea does not work for Indians. The "salad bowl" is now the analogy to use in describing the nature of American society. This is a combination where the ingredients preserve their identity while at the same time blend into a desirable unit. The Federal government has finally realized that assinilation was not the right policy for the Indian. They are now attempting bicultural and bilingual programs.

Two congressional acts stimulated by the "War on Poverty" which facilitated Indian education were the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Elementary/Secondary Act of 1965 (13:20). These provided funds for special programs and extra educational/personal services to schools serving children from low income families. Another major event was the Johnson-O'Malley Act, P.L. 73-167, which designated funds to provide services to Indian children in public schools (28:2). As with all Federal funds, these funds are made available on the basis of contract between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the individual state with an acceptable State Plan.

More recently, Title IV of the Education Amendment of 1972, or better known as the Indian Education Act, has established an Office of Indian Education within the U. S. Office of Education (33:32). The main purpose is to administer programs providing school districts and Ameri-

can Indian organizations with funds to improve educational opportunities for Indians. An allocation of $17 million was made for fiscal year 1973 to implement programs authorized. Indian participation in the planning and development of the new programs is necessary to approval by the Commissioner.

THE COLEMAN REPORT

The Coleman Report of 1965 under the U. S. Office of Education compared educational achievement of all minority groups (13:26). The findings indicate that the minority child fell farther and farther behind. Two factors are reported to influence this. One factor is cultural alienation which leads to progressive psychological withdrawal from all that school implies. The second factor is considered to be middle class American values which are often contrary to traditional Indian values (13:27)(30:57).

Cultural alienation together with "progressive retardation" which may be a factor in creating alienation. This is also referred to as a "cumulative learning deficit." The drop-out rate for Indians is highest in the 8th grade just after transfer to public school. They are made aware of their deficiencies in competing with Anglo children and are no longer able to cope with their educational situation. Between 1962 and 1968, 57.2% graduated from high school while 42.3% dropped out but in the Southwest the drop-out rate for Indian students is 38.7% in comparison to 47.7% in the Northwest (13:25). In other words, the drop-out rate is higher in the Northwest than the Southwest.

Reasons for academic failure are controversial but the factor of a divergent value system is prominent. The traditional Indian values which are contrary to American middle class values are: (Zintz, 30:57)

- - - harmony with nature justaposed with mastery over nature
- - - present time orientation versus future time orientation
- - - level of aspiration is to follow the ways of the older people and maintain a status quo rather than develop a keen sense of competition and climb the ladder of success
- - - to value anonymity and submissiveness rather than individuality and aggressiveness
- - - to work to satisfy present needs and be willing to share rather than always working to get ahead and save for the future.

THE MacLEAN REVIEW

MacLean (13:20) summarizes some of the facts which the U. S. War on Poverty brought to light. Unemployment among Indians amounts to 40% while the national average is 3.5%. Of those who do work, one-third are under employed or seasonal workers. Fifty percent of the Indian families have incomes below $2,000 and 75% are below $3,000 annually. The average age at death of the Indian is 44-years while the national average is 65-years. (The U. S. Department of Interior Press Release on February 14, 1964 gives the average age at death as 42-years.) The Indian infant mortality rate is 34.5 per 1,000 which is 12 points above the national average. Ten percent of all Indians have no schooling and 60% have less than an 8th grade education.

In 1968 there were 600,000 Indians in the United States, 400,000 of who lived on or near reservations and 200,000 of school age (13:21). Over one-half could speak only their native language which created special problems in education. It was estimated that 94% of all Indian children were in school which constituted a 4% increase since 1961. In this same year, a study of 384 graduates from the Southwest six years after high school completion was carried out (13:28). Seventy-four percent of these entered academic or vocational schools. Seven percent completed college and 44% completed vocational/technical school. Reasons given for failure to complete the post secondary schools were listed as inadequate finances, military service, marriage, and pregnancy.

In 1970 there were 185,587 Indian students ages 5-18 enrolled in schools (13:22). Of these 61.7% were in public schools, 25.8% were in Federal schools, and 5.8% were in mission schools. During this year, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated 215 schools enrolling 52,195 students. In addition to this the BIA operated 19 dormitories for 4,043 children in public schools and undertook partial financial responsibility for two-thirds of all Indian children in public schools. A total of 1,681 pre-school children were enrolled in 59 kindergartens. Graduates from the BIA high schools during this year totalled 1,939.

Of the Indians who complete post secondary schooling, two-thirds of the females and three-fourths of the males are employed. The females are working primarily in clerical positions and report they are happy. The males are working mostly in skilled and unskilled jobs and state

they are dissatisfied. Havighurst has found that the number of Indians attending college has increased five times during a ten year span from 1960 to 1970. There are now 8,000 Indians in college, 12% of the college age group (13:28). Reasons for this no doubt include availability of money through the BIA, Indian tribes, and recruiting efforts of a number of agencies (13:28)(24:25).

ROLE OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

There were 203,000 Indian students in all types of school in 1971 with 51,000 of these in BIA schools (25:2). The role of the BIA is limited to federally recognized Indians living on reservations or Indian trust land. The central part of the BIA objectives include:

- - - to carry out an effective program for students in Federal schools designed to prepare the student for successful living (19,500 in BIA schools need special education, 3,700 receive services, over 15,000 do not)
- - - to obtain school facilities for eligible Indian students (about $90,000,000 for construction was provided by Congress to the BIA in 1969-73 but to bring up the remaining an additional one-half million dollars was needed)
- - - to secure for all Indian children the educational opportunities available to all citizens through public education
- - - to develop on the part of Indian groups, state and local officials recognition and acceptance of their full responsibilities for the education of Indians
- - - to retain the valuable elements of Indian life and to strengthen the pride of Indian groups and the recognition by non-Indian

as to the contribution of the Indian heritage to our national life

- - - to secure regular attendance of all Indian students until they graduate and to appraise periodically the need for boarding schools.

The BIA budget in fiscal year 1972 was $200 million dollars. The major areas of use are operation/construction of Federal schools, Assistance for public schools serving Indian students, higher educational assistance, and for adult education programs. There is now an Indian Board of Education serving every Federal school. In current years, 13 schools have been turned over to the communities in which they are located. Three Indian community colleges are operated under Indian control with support partially from Federal funds.

Navajo Community College, now located at Tsaile Lake, has been in operation since 1968. This is the first institution of higher learning in the United States owned and controlled by Indians (37:774)(39:208). No Navajos are refused admission regardless of whether they have a formal education or not. Some take college courses or technical courses including rug weaving or silversmithing. The college has 656 full-time students, including members of 12 other Indian tribes plus a few white and blacks.

Recently a news item appeared in the Arizona Republic (26:18) that indicated most Indian students tend to enroll in college immediately after they graduate from high school, drop out for a year or two, and then return to their undergraduate studies. Their most common majors are education and social work with their greatest source of financial help from the BIA.

Of the 13,000 Indian college students in the United States, a random sample of 3,000 indicated that poor study habits, lack of adequate preparation in high school, lack of motivation and lack of money are the biggest problems for Indian students. Skill acquisition, association with other people and a sense of fulfillment were considered the most enjoyable aspects of college life by the Indian students contacted.

Many BIA officials tend to see school drop-outs in terms of opposing social forces (20:165). The teachers and administrators try to attract the young people to academic achievement as a way of preparing them for American society. Meanwhile the Indian elders try to pull the young people back into the undeveloped reservation culture. Indian people would like improved educational and community programs designed to give the individual a free choice in using his abilities and at the same time, maintain his Indianness (12:191).

CULTURAL IDENTITY IN REPRESENTATIVE INDIAN GROUPS

The Papago system of education has remained central to their efforts to maintain their identity and internal social order (21:163). There are six principles upon which their process of education and socialization are based. These are:

1) pattern of reward and punishment,
2) pattern of social deference,
3) pattern of joint sharing of family work,
4) pattern of supernatural sanctions as controls of disruptive and physically dangerous behavior,

5) pattern of similarity of expected social behavior for adults and children, and

6) pattern of treatment of child as a person.

The Papago child is treated as a distinct social person with a set of ideas and desires that are considered in choices of action that directly affect him. The child is consulted as to his wishes on matters which adults feel an adult person would have the right to decide. This pattern of giving the child wide freedom in personal choices of social action is in accordance with the adult social deference pattern idea that consent of a junior is required by senior in actions affecting the junior person. This is the basic rationale of adults for treatment of the child as a distinct social person. As he matures, consideration of the child as a person is essentially the same through the entire socialization process. Choices made by the child are accepted by the adults without comment.

The Hopi, as one example of the Pueblo groups, have maintained a strong sense of cultural identity and isolation while viewing white education as a necessary accessory (7:116). Numerous problems confront the Pueblo groups who have been polarized into progressive and conservative factions on many issues (40:31). Problems demanding decisions from within the groups include poverty, population growth, land rights, land claims, religious activities, education, formation of village constitutions and participation in Federal programs. These will serve to illustrate the complexity of their situation as they strive to maintain their identity.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND INDIAN EDUCATION

Murray and Rosalie Wax (19:3) criticize educational researchers as having a vision constricted by an interlocking chain of assumptions. In the first place, they claim, researchers view schools as primarily and exclusively agencies of formal education rather than being social institions. Secondly, researchers see students as isolated individuals rather than social beings who participate in the life of peer societies, ethnic groups and the like. Third, researchers consider formal education as synonymous with education. And fourth, researchers believe that the principal task of the teacher is to educate. Therefore, instead of inquiring what sort of social processes are occurring, researchers have defined their problem as being one of discovering how to make the schools teach their individual students more, better, and faster.

Several studies have shown the desirability for developing teacher awareness of the relationship between school procedures and cross-cultural influences (8:149). Education is more than the more transmitter of cultural heritage. It needs to be seen as the means for societal survival and adjustment. The student can be made to feel more secure if he is allowed to readjust his value and evaluative structure in a manner that permits cultural realignments and readjustments to a constantly changing world.

There are three aspects of a formal curriculum that teachers should consider. These are the content, the method of instruction, and the order of instruction. The informal curriculum is reflected in the

school social atmosphere through the dress code, the behavioral standards, the reward systems, as well as treatment and expectations of students. Almost universally American schools present an informal curriculum based on the American middle class culture of the school personnel (31:163). Historically, the American school has perceived its role in teaching across cultures as one of augmenting and hastening the process of acculturation. Approaches to the curriculum encourage the eradication of deviance from the American middle class model (31:165).

Indian children are taught to learn in two different ways (5:252). In school they learn the ways of white man. At home they learn the ways of their people. Some of these cultural patterns have been durable for over 400 years. It seems reasonable that what is needed is a broader base of knowledges and understandings about cultures to effect gradual adaptation on the part of non-Indians and Indians. Anthropologists can provide valuable assistance as resource persons in this respect.

Ninety-nine percent of the anthropologists are employed in institutions of higher education (29:13). Presently, it is the task of the teacher alone to incooperate anthropological concepts into the curriculum. Spindler (18:70) suggests that every public school course should be enriched by incooperation of ethnological materials, particularly on culture history. He further points out that these ideas can be facilitated and implemented through joint meetings of educators and anthropologists. Certainly the innovative teacher/educator, if "culturally literate," can determine the culturally defined limits within which to most effectively transmit the culture (17:161).

Myers and Gezi (14:185) have made some very practical suggestions which can be applied to the Indian in the classroom setting. One, become familiar with the subcultures, family structure, home environment, cultural traditions and values of the Indians. Two, establish a warm climate based on accpetance, appreciation and respect without sacrificing authority. Three, help students undertand the dynamics of prejudice and its implications for all groups. Four, demonstrate sensitivity to human relations problems in the classroom, Five, and last, use teaching methods specifically attuned to the needs of all students.

CONCLUSION

A rather bleak viewpoint has been posed by R. Freeman Butts (3:466), with his comment that, " - - - the attendance numbers, of course, do not solve the problems of education of Indians. If anything, they simply bring them into the mainstream of American educational problems: rural-oriented youth transferred to an urban environment that is more alien and hostile than the reservation and more contemptuous of poor vocational skills; a curriculum that pays virtually no attention to the Indian heritage; teachers who have little training, understanding, or appreciation of the special need for respect and dignity of a people who must be able to more skillfully between the traditional culture of tribal folk society and a modern urban civilization and be able to find values in both."

There is a sparcity of educational anthropologists. Perhaps this has positive aspects, in that, teachers/educators will find it necessary to broaden their own background with inclusion of cultural components.

Arizona has 96,000 Indians in a total population of 1,772,000 (23:1). This number is significant enough to warrant inclusion of anthropological concepts in all curricula to a greater extent than is now present. It seems to me that the task of the teacher/educator is to recognize the interconnectedness of societies and cultures which make it imperative that attention be given to curricular incooperation of other societies and cultures. Robert Redfield (17:157) points out the classroom as being important only if it is understood in its relation to the society and culture of the people who occupy it. Teaching will be effective only as it is related to society and culture.

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APPENDICES

Dobyns (6:172) Social Structure Diagrams of Indian Affairs

Diagram I

The Social Structure of Indian Affairs to 1933

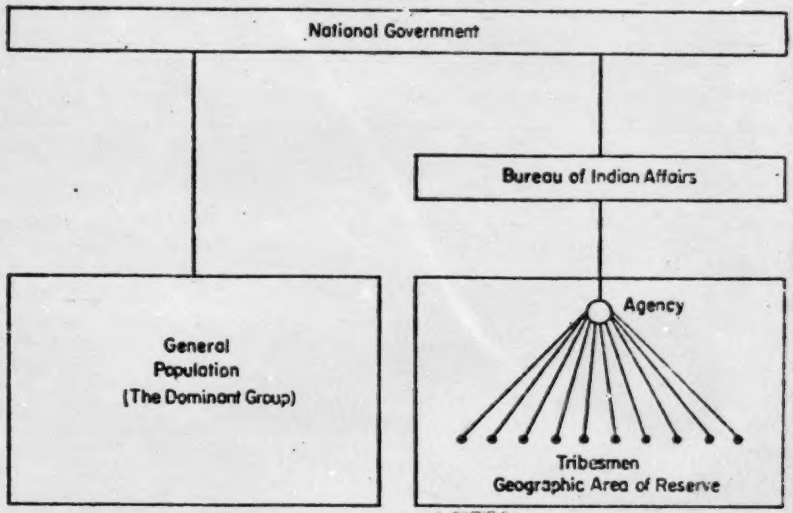


Diagram II

The Changing Social Structure of Indian Affairs, 1933–1946

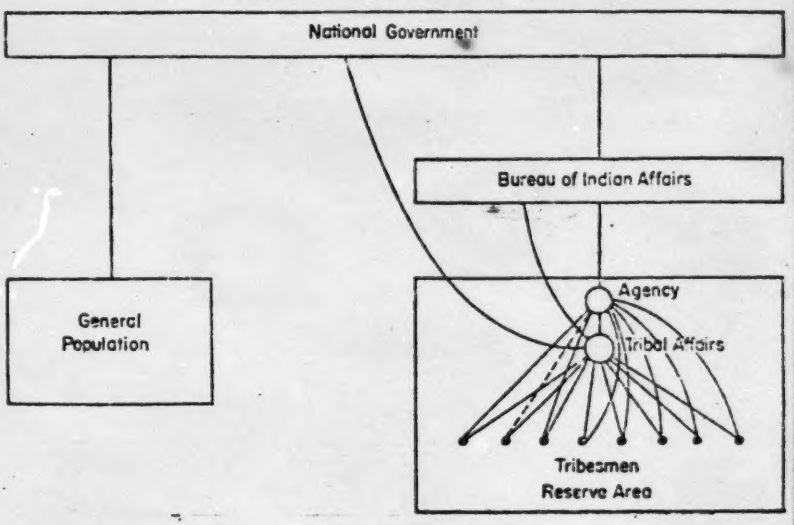
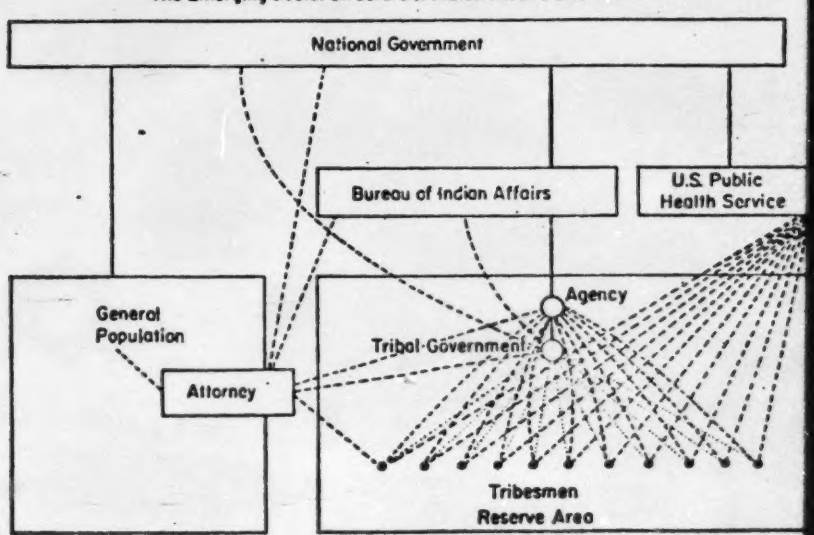


Diagram III

The Emerging Social Structure of Indian Affairs after 1946



CONFLICTS IN CULTURAL VALUES

AMERICAN school teachers are sure to place great value on these practices:	Children from traditional INDIAN families may be said to have accepted general pattern as described below:	Children from traditional SPANISH-AMERICAN families may be said to have accepted these general patterns:
MASTERY OVER NATURE. Man must harness and cause the forces of nature to work for him.	HARMONY WITH NATURE. Nature will provide for man if he will behave as he should and obey nature's laws.	SUBJECTION TO NATURE. An often observed reaction in the traditional Spanish-American was, "If it's God's will."
FUTURE TIME ORIENTATION. All living in our society are future-oriented.	PRESENT TIME ORIENTATION. Life is concerned with the here and now. Accept nature in its seasons, we will get through the years, one at a time. "If the things I am doing now are good, to be doing these things all my life will be good."	PRESENT TIME ORIENTATION. For the traditional Spanish-American family the only important goal of life was going to heaven after death. One only passed through his temporal life to receive his "reward" in the next.
LEVEL OF ASPIRATION. Climb the ladder of success. Success is measured by a wide range of superlatives: first, the most, the best, etc.	LEVEL OF ASPIRATION. Follow in the ways of the old people. Young people keep quiet because they lack maturity and experience. This deemphasized experiment, inovation, and change.	LEVEL OF ASPIRATION. "To work a little, rest a little." Follow in one's father's footsteps. Be satisfied with the present.

WORK. Success will be achieved by hard work.	WORK. One should work to satisfy present needs. Accumulating more than one needs could be construed as selfish, stingy, or bigoted.	WORK. Work to satisfy present need. The Spanish-American was particularistic in nature. He operated on emotional response rather than subordinating the individual to the societal institution. A businessman looks first at himself as a brother to the man who is asking for credit, and secondly as a businessman who is dealing with a customer.
SAVING. Everybody should save for the future. "A penny saved is a penny earned." "Put something away for a rainy day."	SHARING. One shares freely what he has. One of the traditional purposes of Shalako was that a man could provide a ceremonial feast for the village if he were able to do so.	SHARING. Traditional pattern included sharing within the extended family group. Those established in the dominant culture accepted Anglo values in sharing.
ADHERENCE TO TIME SCHEDULES. "Take care of the minutes and the hours will take care of themselves." In practive, we might be termed "clock-watchers."	ADHERENCE TO TIME SCHEDULES. Time is always with us. The unhurried inexactness of the Indian with appointments has led to the expression, "He operates on Indian time."	ADHERENCE TO TIME SCHEDULES. The expression for "the clock runs" translated from the Spanish is "the clock walks." It has been said that this explains the "manana attitude" which Anglos have observed in Spanish-Americans.
INDIVIDUALITY. Each one shapes his own destiny. Self-realization for each person not limited.	ANONYMITY. Accepting group sanctions, and keeping life rigidly routinized.	OBEDIENCE. The Catholic Church kept life routinized, placed emphasis on obedience to will of God.

ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE. Change, in and of itself, is accepted as modal behavior.

SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION FOR ALL BEHAVIOR. Nothing happens contrary to natural law. There is a scientific explanation for everything.

COMPETITION. Aggression. One competes to win. Winning first prize all the time is a coveted goal.

REACTION TO CHANGE. We may follow in the old ways with confidence.

NON-SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION FOR NATURAL PHENOMENA. Mythology, fear of the supernatural, witches, and sorcery may be used to explain behavior.

COOPERATION. Remaining submerged within the group. Traditionally a man did not seek offices or leadership or attempt to dominate his people. In sports, if one won once, he was now ready to let others win.

REACTION TO CHANGE. We may follow the old ways with confidence. The reason may not be at all the same as the Indian's, however. This life on earth is endured only to win eternal life in Heaven.

NON-SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION FOR NATURAL PHENOMENA. Witches, fears, and non-scientific medical practices were used to explain behavior.

HUMILITY. Acceptance of his status quo. Submission might categorize behavior.

Zintz (30:57)

ESTIMATED PER CAPITA INCOME ON ARIZONA INDIAN RESERVATIONS - 1972

	Gross Income From All Sources	Reservation Population	Per Capita Income
Indians Residing on Reservations	$138,519,168	113,249	$1,222

SUMMARY OF TAXES COLLECTED IN 1972 FROM ARIZONA INDIAN RESERVATIONS AND RESIDENTS THEREOF

	Assumed Res. Pop. of 113,000
Property Tax	$5,628,972
Income Tax	774,050
Transaction Privilege (Sales) Tax	
1. General (3%)	1,785,400
2. Mines	1,350,362
3. Oil and Gas	88,641
Total	$9,627,425

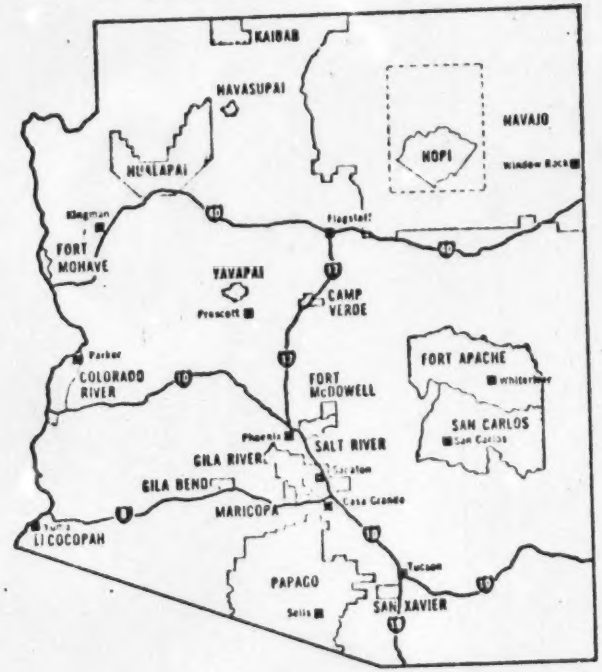
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR INDIANS RESIDING ON RESERVATIONS IN ARIZONA, FISCAL YEAR 1972

	State	Federal and Other	Total
Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs	$ 57,669	$	$ 57,669
Crippled Children's Services(*)	376,217	208,783	585,000
Economic Security			
(Income Maintenance Bureau)	1,230,685	7,307,665	8,538,350
(Rehabilitation Services Bureau)	9,710	42,890	52,600
Education			
(Elementary and Secondary)	7,345,062	11,503,074	18,848,136
(Vocational)	60,768	67,916	128,684
Health Department(*)	86,561	258,241	344,802
Library, Archives, and Public Records . . .	41,400	207,960	249,360
Livestock Sanitary Board	23,072	14,601	37,673
Mental Retardation(*)	131,661	174,128	305,789
Mine Inspector	1,629		1,629
Oil and Gas Commission	13,800		13,800
State Community College Board	1,079,933		1,079,933
State Hospital(*)	166,388	197,586	363,974
State Universities(*)	994,955		994,955
Total	$11,619,510	$19,982,844	$31,602,354

(*) Includes services to off-reservation Indians.

Source: 1973 Arizona State Indian Seminar - Subcommittee Report On Taxation and Economic

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN ARIZONA



Reservation and Tribe	County	Population	Area Sq. Miles
AK-CHIN Papago	Pinal	265	34
CAMP VERDE Yavapai, Apache	Yavapai	342	1
COCOPAH Yuma	Yuma	360	1
COLORADO RIVER Mohave, Navajo Chemehuevi, Hopi	Yuma	1,581	353
FORT APACHE White Mountain Apache	Apache Gila Navajo	7,200	2,601
FORT McDOWELL Mohave, Apache Yavapai	Maricopa	340	39
FORT MOHAVE Mohave	Mohave	50	37
GILA BEND Papago	Maricopa	497	16
GILA RIVER Maricopa	Maricopa Pinal	8,331	581
HAVASUPAI Havasupai	Coconino	363	5
HOPI Hopi	Coconino Navajo	6,567	3,863
HUALAPAI Hualapai	Mohave Coconino Yavapai	870	1,550
KAIBAB Paiute	Mohave	153	188
NAVAJO Navajo	Apache Navajo Coconino	78,678	14,014
PAPAGO Papago	Maricopa Pima Pinal	9,159	4,334
SALT RIVER Pima, Maricopa	Maricopa	2,750	73
SAN CARLOS Apache	Gila Graham	5,097	2,898
YAVAPAI Yavapai	Yavapai	94	2
SAN XAVIER Papago	Pima	3,357	111

Note: Population figures represent the number of Indians living on and near the reservation. The Navajo population is for Arizona only.

Appendix C

SOURCE: American Education U. S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, October, 1973, p 32.

FEDERAL FUNDS

Appendix D

STRENGTHENING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIANS

Title IV of the Education Amendments of 1972, better known as the Indian Education Act, has established within the U.S. Office of Education the Office of Indian Education to administer programs that provide local school districts and American Indian organizations with funds to improve educational opportunities for Indians. Under fiscal year 1973 spending authority, $17 million was allocated to the Office to implement programs authorized by three of the five parts of the Act.

Under Part A, 436 local education associations and school districts serving some 135,000 Indian students in 31 States will receive $10,952,376 to develop programs within existing elementary and secondary school curriculums to meet the special needs of these children. Another $547,618 is to be spent on ten Indian schools on or near reservations and not administered by local education agencies.

Part B of the Act provides for the funding of specific projects designed to demonstrate innovative techniques for improving educational opportunities for Indian children. Under fiscal year 1973 spending authority, $5 million will be spent on 51 such projects.

Under Part C of the Act, $500,000 will go into ten projects for adult Indian education. The projects developed are to include efforts that assist Indian adults to obtain high school equivalencies, to improve their communication skills, and to participate in career development programs.

To assure Indian participation in the planning and development of the new programs, the Act requires that the Commissioner withhold approval of grant applications until satisfied that the tribal communities and particularly the parents of the children, have had every opportunity to participate in establishing a project and that such participation will extend to its operation and evaluation. In addition, the Act also establishes a 15-member National Advisory Council on Indian Education composed of Indians and Alaskan natives appointed by the President to advise the Commissioner of Education on matters relevant to Indian education. Further information about the Indian Education Act or any programs administered under its authority may be obtained by writing to The Office of Indian Education, 400 Maryland Ave., S.W. Washington, DC 20202.

STATES	School Districts	FY'73 Grant	Projects	FY '73 Grant	Projects	FY'73 Grant
ALASKA	9	$ 1,532,982	1	$ 200,000	1	$ 1,689
ARIZONA	24	1,440,024	7	994,239		
CALIFORNIA	17	107,715	4	582,116		
COLORADO	4	47,616	2	250,000		
CONNECTICUT	1	3,191				
DISTRICT of COLUMBIA					1	50,000
FLORIDA	2	14,844	1	30,539	1	60,000
IDAHO	4	35,502				
ILLINOIS	1	14,900				
IOWA	1	18,912				
KANSAS	2	13,611	1	50,000		
LOUISIANA	1	6,320				
MAINE	2	10,589	1	44,819		
MARYLAND	1	51,888				
MASSACHUSETTS			1	125,000		
MICHIGAN	13	113,915				
MINNESOTA	18	669,760	4	380,432	1	78,311
MONTANA	28	480,590	1	164,170	1	30,000
NEBRASKA	4	18,791	1	25,000		
NEVADA	1	15,626	3	75,000		
NEW MEXICO	13	1,391,986	5	688,600	2	110,000
NEW YORK	10	330,223	3	266,273		
NORTH CAROLINA	17	832,390	1	75,000		
NORTH DAKOTA	13	198,038				
OHIO	2	29,029				
OKLAHOMA	165	1,650,210	5	379,600		
OREGON	2	76,583	3	186,232		
SOUTH DAKOTA	17	484,074	1	66,780	1	70,000
UTAH	6	155,235			1	60,000
WASHINGTON	29	699,675	2	70,000	1	40,000
WEST VIRGINIA	1	1,508				
WISCONSIN	23	421,688	3	296,200		
WYOMING	5	84,961	1	50,000		
TOTALS	436	$10,952,376	51	$5,000,000	10	$500,000

DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, or be so treated on the basis of sex under most education programs or activities receiving Federal assistance." All programs cited in this article, like every other program or activity receiving financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, operate in compliance with this law.